



COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS



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CONTENTS

War Posters: The Artifacts of Behavior	WILLIAM W. CUMMING	3
The Art of the War Poster—an Index of American Taste	PEPPINO G. MANGRAVITE	12
Hamilton Papers in the Columbia Libraries	HAROLD C. SYRETT	21
Manhattan Cavalcade, 1625-1860	JAMES G. VAN DERPOOL	26
Stephen Crane's Last Novel: <i>The O'Ruddy</i>	LILLIAN GILKES AND JOAN H. BAUM	41
Willard V. King Bequest		49
Our Growing Collections	ROLAND BAUGHMAN	50
Activities of the Friends		55

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British guns blast a way through Axis defences in North Africa

THE DOWNFALL OF THE DICTATORS IS ASSURED

British World War II poster asserting that might would overcome the enemy.



COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS



War Posters: The Artifacts of Behavior

WILLIAM W. CUMMING

IF A psychologist seldom delves into history for his subject matter it is because he is primarily interested in the behavior of living people. How do they act, and why? No act is too noble, nor is any slip of the tongue too insignificant, to escape his inquiring attention. All of this makes him a bore to his students and a nuisance to his friends. To the man who wants to know how people tick, the hidden motivation is all the more intriguing for being obscure.

An examination of the Columbia Library's collection of war posters provides the psychologist with an excellent opportunity to gratify this strange compulsion of his. The individuals who created these posters are gone now, or at least are unavailable for examination, but here are their records. Here are some true fossils of human passion! What was the nature of the beast that left these footprints, or that half-consumed meal, to be examined by the inquiring eye of posterity?

We cannot now examine the effects which posters published years ago had upon the men and women who viewed them at the time of their creation. Were they effective? Did this poster sell a bond, or that one renew a lagging faith? We shall perhaps never know. These are not the records of the viewers, but the records of

the designers who produced them under complex conditions of war which we would not recreate today even if we could. Our laboratories are sadly inadequate to the task of reproducing the vast panoply of needs and intense feelings which led to the production of these posters. We can only study what remains as a clue to the understanding of these complex emotions no longer in our consciousness.

The poster-artist is an engineer whose aim is not to build a bridge or dam a river but to alter the behavior of his fellow man. The poster is a piece of art with a clearly specifiable purpose. The viewer is supposed to do something or, the converse, stop doing something. We may put this feature of poster art in another way. The culture or milieu in which the poster-artist works must have had a need. A society in which everything is running smoothly does not require the alteration of the behavior of its members. When an alteration has been attempted, we can learn a great deal about the needs of a society by noting what features of behavior it sought to correct. In a sense, we get a look at the posters' audience if we examine what it was being told to do and the way in which the message was put.

We must be careful not to attribute too much power to the poster. Brains are not washed by putting up a sign. This basic ineffectiveness is largely due to the inability of the poster to interact with its viewers. If we obey when we are told to do something, it is because someone can check up to see whether or not we comply. Clearly a printed piece of paper does not have this power. Whatever power it does have, it borrows from the interacting environment by imitation. The real art in poster design lies in the subtlety with which this is accomplished. The poster cannot create a motivation or an emotion, but succeeds best when it simply tries to make use of the motivations and emotions which already exist, in order to produce the desired effects.

If posters contain this severe limitation, why are they employed at all in the attempt to control behavior? The answer lies, of course, in comparing them with other means of control. Effective

control is tremendously expensive in terms of both time and human effort. We cannot provide each individual in our society with an interacting environment which will follow him about suggesting that he buy bonds and then checking up to make sure that he has. The poster has a certain permanence. If one presentation of its message is not sufficient, it will not go away. The continuous presentation of its demands may have a cumulative effect, especially when it is used in conjunction with other means of presenting the same message. It is also true that the poster presents its demands to a great number of people. It may be quite ineffective on each of these viewers, but the viewers themselves interact and a very small effect on each of them may produce a chain-reaction in which the viewers control each other by presenting each other with forms of the message, and insisting, with the peculiar power characteristic of social behavior, upon some kind of compliance.

In viewing these remains of behavior which had in itself only a fleeting existence, the psychologist can only speculate, as it would now be impossible to validate his hypotheses. His first thoughts in viewing a particular example of poster art are largely concerned with the question: what needs did this poster attempt to fill? What was the poster artist trying to get his viewers to do? What techniques did the artist feel were necessary to accomplish his task? What motivations could he depend upon in his viewers? We cannot speculate on these matters without a historical perspective and some knowledge of the general environment into which the poster was projected. Viewed in this way, the vast poster collection in the Columbia Library provides a great number of insights into the character of peoples at war which are hardly available from other sources.

Let us take as an example of the kinds of analysis which are open to us, one of a series of British World War II posters carrying the slogan, "THE DOWNFALL OF THE DICTATORS IS ASSURED" (see frontispiece). These posters uniformly carry a large and colorful portrayal of British troops, planes, or ships in the heat of action. The psychologist is by nature a suspicious man and the bald assertion

that something *is* assured suggests immediately that the reverse is a serious possibility. There must have been some tendency to fear that downfall was *not* assured. We recall the situation in which the average Briton must have found himself at that time. Bombarded by tons of high explosives, personally deprived not only of luxuries but of staples as well, he was almost alone in fighting a terrible war—and unable to hit back at the enemy who was hitting him. It would be an unusual faith which would not have wavered on occasion. I would not suggest that the magnificent bravery of the British people was the result of a propagandistic barrage. But in examining the posters from that time it is possible to re-experience some of the reassurance he must have received from the bald, unequivocal assertion that he was on the winning side. Indeed he could repeat that reassurance to himself on each occasion he read the message which was contained in one of these posters. With each repetition he could vicariously experience some of the massive retaliation which was portrayed in each of the series. By examining some of the needs which the poster was aimed at satisfying, we come to learn a little more of the feeling of that historical period.

Many of the American posters from the World War I period show, in one pose or another, an unshaven German soldier in the process of seizing a young mother and her child, or in the commission of some other atrocity. This series of posters is remarkably stereotyped. The shadowy figures are usually silhouetted against a blazing red sky. The mother and child are usually spotted with blood, as is the German's bayonet. Why should such an effort have been expended on the channeling of hate against the enemy? To the psychologist the suggestion would be clear—that many Americans were not sufficiently involved in the common war effort. Apparently during the second World War such an engineering of hatred was considered unnecessary, since comparable examples from the more recent period are much milder and seem to be *making use of* the general spirit rather than trying to arouse it. An interesting exception is found in Russian posters from the second World War, which are uniformly vicious and seem to be

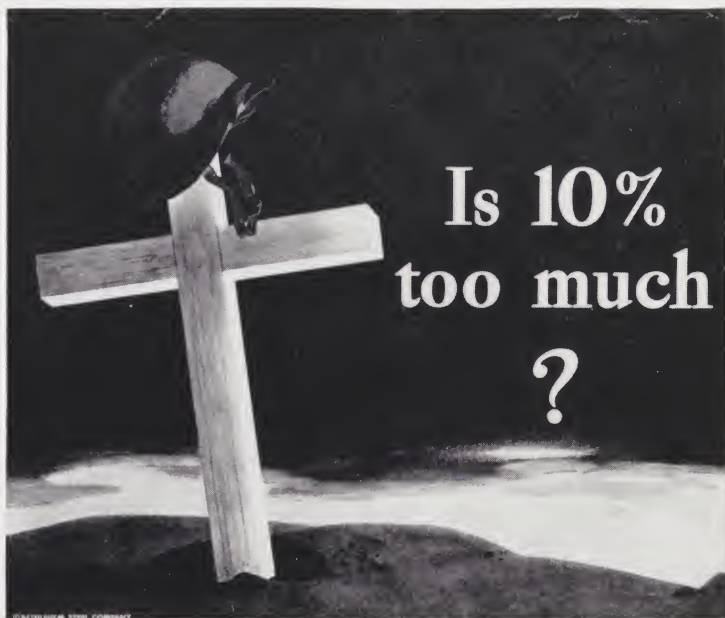
REMEMBER • BELGIUM •

Buy Bonds
Fourth
Liberty
Loan



A World War I poster which was designed to channel hatred of the enemy into the buying of Liberty Loan bonds.

attempting to arouse hatred rather than simply channeling it to some end which might be useful in terms of the war effort. Hitler was usually portrayed by the Russians in a kind of rodent form, gnawing on human bones.



“Don’t let him down!—Buy War Bonds” is the implication of this poster from the second World War.

In many ways, the poster collection highlights the peculiar conflicts which a war produces. Do we need to increase the sale of war bonds? As a behavioral engineer, the poster-artist attacked the problem with considerable and constantly increasing ingenuity. World War I posters attempted to rely on pure, unalloyed patriotism to accomplish this end, presenting the symbols which were supposed, in Pavlovian fashion, to elicit the patriotic duty—the Liberty Bell, the flag, perhaps an eagle or two. It may be that the aim was to produce what William James once called “the

cutaneous shiver which, like a sudden wave, flows over us." In that effusive flood, hopefully, war bonds would be purchased. American posters from World War II show a different spirit, perhaps reflecting the ensuing interval which had transformed Freud into a minor intellectual deity. In this later period, there was a concerted effort to make use of the guilt-feelings of those who remained home. Individual American soldiers, wounded or dying, were a frequent theme. One poster shows a lonely grave, decorated with a white cross and an empty helmet— "Is 10% enough?" The clear implication that it was not enough was undoubtedly not lost on those who remained at home. "Don't let *him* down!"—the implication was that the viewer was letting him down, if only in asking him to do the fighting. The only release from guilt suggested by most of these posters is the purchase of war bonds.

Use of motivations like guilt is a dangerous procedure. The man who feels he is doing nothing for the war effort in a culture where doing something for the war effort is a major value, may be completely immobilized by his guilt. A society at war still needs even the most menial of tasks performed. Some of the posters reflect this conflict and at the same time suggest a solution. Guilt feelings can be reduced by providing what a psychologist calls a "rationalization." Does the man who is engaged in the production of cellophane feel that he is not doing his share? Provide him with a rationalization—the fighting man gets his medicines wrapped in cellophane. Here, in posters, is presented the picture of a miniature neurotic cycle produced by the conflicting demands of a huge war effort. The final poster not only provides a defense against guilt but offers, in addition, a possible reward for the worker in terms of the soldier's thanks.

Aggressive behavior is most frequently the result of frustrations. Anger appears in infants only when their movements are restricted. We all are angered when we are prevented from doing those things we want to do. As a result the almost universal symbol of frustration is the chained human figure. A German poster in the

Columbia collection shows this quite clearly. The brawny slave bursting his chains in a magnificent show of effort fairly bristles with aggressive anger. In a single symbol it sums up the generation of frustrations which had befallen the German people. One can picture the German, seething with the anger repressed for so long—Versailles, Weimar, inflation, etc.,—finding at last a channel for his aggression. A masterpiece of the poster-maker's art, it shows clearly both the need which the members of the society all felt, and the techniques employed by the artist to channel that motivation to a particular response.

We have here only scratched the surface of the magnificent collection of posters in the Columbia Library, and sampled a psychologist's thoughts on examining that material. The collection shows a great many of the mechanisms employed in the attempt to control human behavior. The scholar would like more information about the effect these posters had on their viewers. Artistic factors, such as color, design, proportion, etc., on which the psychologist is not able to pass judgment, undoubtedly contributed to the success or failure of these efforts. Hastily contrived or thoughtfully polished, subtle symbolism or raw emotion, the posters remain a visible record of behavior. They are a facet of man's continuing attempt to understand himself, and through that understanding, to learn some measure of self-control.



The shattering of a generation's frustrations is portrayed in this German World War II poster.

The Art of the War Poster—an Index of American Taste

PEPPINO G. MANGRAVITE

THE posters produced by warring nations would make an interesting exhibition of popular taste in art. Such an exhibition would reveal the level of visual response of different peoples to pictorial images. It would also disclose the degree of compromise made between the concepts of the individualistic artist and governmental and hieratic dicta in arriving at the creation of a popular image forceful enough to sway and convince: an image of simple candor and great persuasion.

That is the scope and function of the war poster. It is an informing or warning device quickly apprehended by the perceptive faculties. But which faculties: the mind, the visual eye, or both?

Popular visual symbols and images are apprehended or “read” differently in each nation. The extent of the visual readability is culturally determined. Traditional superstitions, religious precepts, and visual prohibitions have more often than not shaped the syntax of individual visual perception. Posters made for the first and second World Wars disclose much of national visual habits. I know this, because I participated in the making of posters during the two world wars.

Recently I went to Butler Library to refresh my memory of the device used in war posters. There, neatly stacked in metal drawers, in one of those fenced-in attic archives of the University, I “read” a few hundred posters in their native visual languages. Most of them are in color, a few in black and white. They were designed for their respective countries by English, French, German, Canadian, and South and North American artists. For the purpose of this brief report, I concentrated most of my attention on the

artistic device of the North American poster. Reviewing the visual readability of these posters brought to mind my first encounter with this artistic technique for the American popular eye.

In 1918 I helped an American artist paint a poster to promote the sale of Liberty Bonds during the first World War. We painted it on a huge billboard set up on the steps of the Public Library at 5th Avenue and 42nd Street. I was a student fresh from my art studies in Italy and France. And at this time America, my adopted country, presented for me new obstacles in visual communication. I got on quickly to the communication devices of the English language, but I was having difficulties "reading" the visual images projected by the American mind. What it said with the spoken and written word did not convey the same thing it tried to express in graphic and pictorial figuration. The meanings of words and pictures when communicated simultaneously would superimpose on each other with the result that sense perception blurred. In talking with my artist friends I found that I was not the only one incapable of reading intelligibly these two integrated languages of human communication.

I could not understand how the North American could express himself imaginatively and even poetically with the lyrical English language, and at the same time be so matter-of-fact, pedantic, and repressed when he communicated through the popular visual language of the poster. I had noted with aesthetic fascination that the Protestant-trained perceptive mind, when it wanted to, could convince by verbal parables or axioms, by paradox or metaphor, yet the sense of these linguistic devices were seldom translated and reproduced in visual terms. I found, for instance, that no one would question or be disturbed by the verbal metaphor in "the ship plows the sea," yet most English-speaking North Americans would consider offensive to their intelligence and would suspect as unreal, and, in consequence, as untrue, a plastic paraphrase of such a metaphor.

Peoples have developed diverse means of human communication. It was natural for the polytheistic Egyptian to read met-

aphorical figuration in the informative pictures and hieroglyphics posted on his walls. It was not so natural for the Hebrew, whose ancient religious cult forbade expression by means of the graven image. Conversely, for the early Christian there was no other vulgar language than pictorial narration. To him, knowledge through the eye was supreme. Quite to the contrary, Protestant cults forbade the pleasures and revelations of the visual eye. The wisdom of the spoken and written word was to be trusted more than the visual design of an idea. I occasionally notice how frustrating it is for my friends of strict Protestant up-bringing when they try to feel and see with clarity the visual symbols and images which the artist creates to stimulate the sensuous or emotional eye.

The Liberty Bond poster I was helping to paint, which had been designed in a sort of Howard Chandler Christy style, was pictorially unreadable to me. It was not a poster in the sense that a poster is an informative device which the communicant must perceive at once—and not be distracted by insignificant details in subject matter and technique. To the pyrotechnical kind of painting technique which the figurate aspect of the poster “enun-
ciated” was added the further confusion of superimposing over the design of the figuration splashily written words.

Government officials and artists knew that the literary kind of poster was evoking a response only from the puritan mind and eye. To be effective the war poster had to appeal to a larger American audience: that multitude composed of former puritans, newcomers to the language of the visual arts, and the European and Mediterranean immigrants who were natural inheritors of that language.

By 1918 the naturalistic Currier and Ives lithograph could be found in most homes. For nearly 50 years these prints had represented the vulgar visual language of America. Its folksy aspects became a panacea for most artistic efforts. They appeared on chocolate box covers, and advertisers blew their size up to the dimensions of the billboard. In fact, while the French were developing and perfecting the art of the *affiche*, here in the States



A Howard Chandler Christy poster which exemplifies the poster technique of the first World War.



"Freedom from Want" as portrayed in the simplified symbolism of the period of World War II.

the traveler was being guided by the empty naturalism of the billboard. In his stubborn desire for aesthetic isolation the American commercial artist would not be influenced by the poster innovations of Manet, Lautrec and Chéret. On these shores the Japanese-borrowed clarity of Whistler's flat and strongly contrasted shapes were considered an affectation.

Our first year in World War I produced an incredible number of artistically inept visual platitudes. They aroused the ire of the distinguished American etcher, Joseph Pennell. He urged the Pictorial Division of the Committee of Public Information to enlist the ideas and experience of creative artists for the designing of effective war posters. "Naturally," he admonished, "incompetent artists, cheap engineers, art photographers, friendly politicians would object, and their representatives would object—but the country would be astonished at the excellence of the results." The following reply received from a Government official helped to improve the artistic appearance of the war poster and altered the vision of the American popular eye. "I can get any authority to write me a column or a page about Fuel—but I cannot make everybody or even anybody read it. But if I can get a striking drawing with or without legend of a few lines, everyone who runs must see it. . . ."

Soon after, Joseph Pennell himself produced some striking Liberty Bond posters with the candor and bite of a Whistlerian statement. The literal eye was broadening its visual range.

When World War II came, the American poster had a past. And public taste had risen to artistic sophistication and perceptive maturity. It could sense a plastic metaphor more clearly than the clouded eye of World War I. The public today would not have any difficulty sensing the South American poster of "Freedom from Want," herein reproduced.

In 1942 the war poster appealed less for patriotism, but strove more for human understanding. Its visual design was intended to be read by the eyes of all cultures. The lines, shapes, and colors had significance. Red, white and blue did not necessarily signify



Symbolism of directness and force in the second World War.

the American or French national colors: they also portrayed world-wide symbols of blood or fire, hope and freedom. The Currier and Ives face of the local pretty girl had been flattened into a symbolic shape of woman, and its area painted grey, blue,



A dramatic use of a symbol, with all unnecessary detail eliminated. (Second World War)

white or black, depending on the emotion the artist intended to symbolize.

In 1943 when I painted another poster for the war effort, I noticed that everyone around me, in the street, at home, and in the University, could read the same popular visual language. We had indeed broadened the knowledge of lithography which the Germans introduced over 125 years ago. We had also assimilated the techniques and function of the French *affiche*. The American poster became an artistic informing device for the mundane world, without losing any of the aesthetic qualities which since ancient times have expressed spiritual needs.

The American poster suddenly became essentially American

with an international accent. I ask you to review the brilliant posters produced during World War II by artists Cantu, Ben Shahn and McKnight Kauffer—to mention just a few—and you will understand what I mean. That is why I think Butler Library should hold an exhibition of first and second World War posters!

Hamilton Papers in the Columbia Libraries

HAROLD C. SYRETT

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY is preparing for publication a new edition of the papers of Alexander Hamilton. This project, which was made possible by grants from Time, Inc., and the Rockefeller Foundation, is under the direction of a staff of editors and researchers whose offices are in Butler Library and whose duties range from those of a file clerk to those of the most dedicated scholar. The results of these editorial efforts will be published by the Columbia University Press at an undetermined date in an undetermined number of volumes. It is hoped that this edition of Hamilton's papers will not only be a fitting monument to Columbia's most illustrious alumnus, but that it will also provide a more comprehensive and better edited collection of Hamilton's writings than the editions produced by John C. Hamilton in 1850-51 and by Henry Cabot Lodge in 1885-1886 and 1904.

After a year and one-half of work the editors of the Papers of Alexander Hamilton have succeeded in collecting photostats of more than 14,000 Hamilton documents, including letters that he received as well as those that he wrote. Most of these documents run from one to five pages, but some are more than 100 pages in length, and a few exceed 200 pages. The originals of the materials that have been collected are located in the manuscript collections of libraries, museums, and historical societies; are owned by individuals; or survive only in printed form in books, periodicals, and the newspapers published during Hamilton's life.

Although Columbia University owns only a small percentage of the documents that will be used in the new edition of Hamil-

ton's writings, several of the Hamilton manuscripts in either Special Collections or Columbiana are of unusual interest and importance. At present, Columbia owns seventy-eight Hamilton documents, if letters to him as well as those that he wrote are counted. If the John Jay Papers are included, the total rises to 117 documents, for this collection contains twenty-five letters from Hamilton to Jay and nineteen drafts of Jay letters to Hamilton. The Jay-Hamilton correspondence is on a microfilm owned by Columbia, but the right to copy this material from the microfilm does not carry with it the right to publish. For obvious reasons, the editors of the Hamilton papers are concerned in the most direct fashion with the final disposition of the John Jay Collection and are certainly among the most enthusiastic advocates of its purchase by Columbia.

The Hamilton manuscripts at Columbia are distinguished by the diversity of the correspondents, for no one individual (other, of course, than Hamilton) dominates the collection. If one excludes the Jay papers—as at this time one must unfortunately do—the single largest group of letters is the correspondence between Hamilton and James Nicholson. Consisting of fourteen items, the Hamilton-Nicholson papers deal with a duel which both men managed not to fight. The next largest group is made up of nine letters and two enclosures which Hamilton sent to James McHenry from 1797 to 1800. Ranking behind these collections in numbers, but not necessarily in importance, are six letters in the Washington-Hamilton correspondence and two letters which Hamilton wrote to Jefferson. Special mention should also be made of one letter to Elizabeth Hamilton, five documents concerning Columbia College, and some miscellaneous legal documents in Hamilton's hand. The most disappointing feature of Columbia's manuscript materials (at least, to the editors of the Papers of Alexander Hamilton) is that there is only one Hamilton letter to Gouverneur Morris in the latter's papers in Butler Library. This collection, however, does contain Hamilton

letters to other correspondents as well as Morris' eleven-page manuscript for his speech at Hamilton's funeral.

The Hamilton-Nicholson duel correspondence is in some respects the most interesting portion of Hamiltoniana in the Columbia libraries. Consisting of the exchanges between the two principals and their seconds, this group of papers reveals—among other things—how easy it was to get into a duel and how difficult it was to get out of one. The story of this abortive duel has already been told by Mr. Milton Halsey Thomas (*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, July 1954, pp. 342–52) and can be briefly summarized here. On Saturday, 18 July, 1795, Hamilton attempted to intervene in a dispute between a Mr. Hoffman (either Josiah Ogden Hoffman or Nicholas Hoffman, both of whom were New York merchants) and James Nicholson, who had been Commander-in-Chief of the American Navy during the Revolution. Hamilton's intercession^a was vigorously resented by Nicholson, who stated that Hamilton was “an Abettor of Tories” and that he “had declined an interview [that is, a duel] on a former occasion.” On the following Monday Hamilton issued a peremptory challenge, which Nicholson immediately accepted. There then followed almost a week of quibbling over the time and place of the duel. Mutual friends, however, were able to prevent the duel, and the affair ended when Nicholson copied and signed an apology drawn up by Hamilton. Both men rushed into this fight with the kind of hotheaded impetuosity that one expects in children; and both then proceeded—with suitable displays of reluctance—to avoid the consequences of their impetuosity. In this respect, the Hamilton-Nicholson correspondence stands in marked contrast to that between Hamilton and Burr in 1804, when Hamilton went out of his way to avoid taking any opportunity given him to withdraw from the dispute.

From the standpoint of the historian, the most valuable Hamilton letters at Columbia are those comprising his correspondence

with Washington. Although two of these letters (Hamilton to Washington, 19 April, 1792 and 8 June, 1793) are copies, and another (Hamilton to Washington, 9 April, 1781) is a more or less routine note enclosing some papers to the Commander-in-Chief, the remaining three documents are of considerable importance and interest. In the first of these letters (dated 28 August, 1788) Washington gave Hamilton his opinions on recent political developments in the United States and praised the Federalist Papers. In a second letter (dated 10 October, 1790) the President requested Hamilton to furnish him with material for his first annual message to Congress. The remaining document in this group is a copy of Hamilton's opinion on the constitutionality of the bank. This copy, which was presumably made by a clerk in the Treasury Department, supplements Hamilton's draft of this major state paper in the Library of Congress and his final copy which is now privately owned.

The Hamilton-McHenry correspondence in Butler Library is concerned primarily with the problems arising from the undeclared naval war with France during which Hamilton was in effect the commander-in-chief of the United States Army and McHenry was Secretary of War. One document in this group, however, antedates the war. Bearing neither date nor signature, this twelve-page memorandum in Hamilton's hand contains his answers to questions which President Adams had submitted to the Secretary of War, who, in turn, had—without Adams' knowledge—referred them to Hamilton. This document, which is entitled "Answers to Questions proposed by the President of the U States" and was written in April 1797, indicates the extent to which Hamilton influenced a Cabinet that was supposed to be directly responsible to the President. It is also a particularly perceptive and trenchant summary of its author's views on American foreign policy at a time when relations between the United States and France were strained almost to the breaking point.

The five documents owned by the University that deal with Hamilton's association with Columbia College cover the years

from 1785 to 1788. From 1784 to 1787 Hamilton was one of the Regents of the University of the State of New York, a branch of the state government which in those years controlled Columbia College; and in 1787 he became a member of the College's Board of Trustees. In both capacities he served on committees which investigated and reported on the College's finances. The reports are brief, factual statements (one of them is merely a committee's approval of a bill for repairs on the College's buildings), and they are in large part concerned with the attempt of the Regents to straighten out the tangled accounts of Columbia College's former treasurer, Leonard Lispenard. Although signed by Hamilton, these reports are more valuable to students of the College's history than to those who are interested in the development of Hamilton's ideas.

A brief summary of some of the more important Hamilton manuscripts owned by Columbia in no way indicates the amount of assistance which the University libraries have given to the editors of the Papers of Alexander Hamilton. Butler Library not only provides the project's employees with pleasant quarters in which to work, but it also makes available to them all the facilities needed for their work. The members of the Hamilton papers' staff use the Library's stacks daily, borrow (and often forget to return) its microfilms, urge the Head of Special Collections to spend money which he does not have for the purchase of Hamilton manuscripts, unabashedly ask its officials for information and unwarranted privileges, hide its reserve books on their shelves, complain when its books are missing, order photostats from its photoduplication department, and take what appears to librarians to be an especial pleasure in breaking or ignoring its most important rules. In short, they do everything to the Library but pay it rent. Their debt to Butler Library, however, is exceeded only by their gratitude, for they know that without the Library there could be no Papers of Alexander Hamilton.

Manhattan Cavalcade—1625-1860

JAMES GROTE VAN DERPOOL

TO THOSE devotees of the life of our city as expressed in its buildings, the title of this paper may well need some clarification. They are only too well aware that our city has been peculiarly remiss in its efforts to preserve a continuous record of the building achievements which took place on the island of Manhattan over the more than three hundred years of its existence. To *complete* an architectural survey such as this, we have to have recourse to original drawings and old prints since the gaps in the architectural remains of our early days are indeed sadly numerous. I trust this prerogative will be permitted me.

In even a rapid summary of the changing tides of our architectural taste, reference must be paid to at least four phases of architectural development in New York City up to the period centering around 1860. Stated with brevity, these are:

- a. The phase marked by work of *Medieval Derivation* which mainly characterizes our building efforts up to 1700.
- b. That phase which we all too broadly refer to as *Georgian*, although we understand it to include the delightful architecture associated with the reign of Queen Anne. In an active sense, this design spirit carries on until about 1784.
- c. The *Federal* phase extends to about 1820 and marks the architectural work achieved during the early years of the establishment of our nation.
- d. The phase of *Revivalism*, which for our purposes deals mainly with the *Roman*, the *Greek* and the *Gothic* aspects of this nostalgic effort, extends with force up to the 1860's—the limit, time-wise, of our analysis.

I propose briefly to characterize the spirit of this work and cite a few examples of remaining buildings, or views of lost buildings, which throw light on the subject of our discussion.

The phase of *Medieval Derivation* was based mainly on Dutch and Flemish precedent of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, although we do know that the Dutch East India Company had turned to the great *English* Renaissance architect, Inigo Jones, commissioning him to design a masonry fort. His letter of 1620 still survives, giving directions for construction and referring to now lost drawings, including those for *ornamental* details. Five years later (1625) Cryn Fredericksz arrived with his forty-three colonists and supplies for setting up a permanent community. He is doubtless the first so-called architect-engineer to work on Manhattan Island. Initially his instructions from the company included the laying out of a permanent fort (possibly a variant of the Inigo Jones scheme), a plan for the town built around a Market Place with residences for the Councilmen and other worthies facing it; and a church, schoolhouse and infirmary so grouped under *one roof* that the church could expand when separate buildings were later needed for the school and infirmary. Separate provision was scheduled for the collective housing of single employees, and separate houses for the families of farm workers, traders and other specialized workers. These plans, however, were, of necessity, greatly curtailed in being carried out. Slowly, with the passing decades, an impressive colonial city eventually took form. Knowledge of its appearance is preserved only in various extant drawings, plans and prints. The sad fact is that no *seventeenth-century building* is still recognizably extant on the island of Manhattan. Indeed, only four or five old Dutch houses of this period remained standing as long ago as 1846, and they soon gave way to commercial building enterprises. This leads me to remark, on occasion, that the average New Yorker knows more about the architectural remains in Yucatan than he does scientifically of seventeenth-century architecture on the island of Manhattan—and, of course, the architectural remains are far more extensive in Yucatan.

One of the most precious of our visual documents is the 1650–53 water-color drawing known as the “Prototype View of the Island of Manhattan” (fig. 1) which is preserved in the Royal Archives

at The Hague. It gives us an authoritative view of the city taken from the East River, showing the southern tip of the Island. On the west shore the view extends about as far as Rector Street, and on the east shore nearly to Coenties Slip. In the center foreground is Stuyvesant's Wharf on Schreyer's Hook. To the left is the unfinished fort laid out by Cryn Fredericksz in 1625, although we know this construction was of earthworks rather than the stone indicated in this view. Within the Fort are the church of 1642, which was built of stone and roofed with slate; the Governor's House with steep-pitched roof, "neatly built of brick" in 1643; the barracks and the jail. South of the Fort are a group of small houses which were removed in 1673 by Governor Colve since they tended to impede the defence of the city. The windmill, built prior to 1628, is adjacent to the northwest corner of the Fort adjoining present Battery Place. To the back of Stuyvesant's Wharf is the *first* Storehouse of the West India Company. In the middle of the tall group the *new* West India Storehouse is shown, and just to the right is the church built in 1633. On the extreme right is the Stadt Herbergh or City Tavern which, I blush to say, became our first City Hall in 1653. We gather the overall impression of a small Dutch town with compact houses with steep gables, steeply-pitched roofs and mullioned windows fitted with leaded glass. The buildings are constructed with economy. The effect is one of neatness and industry. With simple dispatch, the needs of Government, the Church, industry and private shelter are efficiently met. The important point, we gather, is that this was no temporary trading center, but clearly the beginning of a settled and permanent community. Old wills and inventories confirm that life was less primitive than many would surmise. One solid burgher listed in the seventeenth century something over fifty chairs worthy of mention among his household furniture. Good china, pewter, brass and silver were in evidence. The New York silversmiths were well employed and functioned as men of importance on the Island. Imposing cupboards (*kas*) involving turnings and inlays enriched the interiors. The beds were hung with hand-



FIGURE 1. The famous Prototype View of the Island of Manhattan. c 1650–1653
(From the Royal Archives at The Hague).

woven stuffs often of surprisingly elaborate design. Before the end of the century, visitors were soundly impressed with the substantial and comfortable character of life on our Island. The great residence, which Robert Livingston had acquired in 1693 from that well-known citizen of the time, Captain Kidd, was indeed a mansion and so richly fitted that there could be no doubt that it was the home of a gentleman of taste and property. The Old South Dutch Church had been built in 1692, Old Trinity Church was reared in 1696–98 and the Great Dock had been built in 1676. It is sad, indeed, that all these structures, and others far too numerous to mention here, have disappeared.

The introduction of classically-inspired Renaissance buildings, which we vaguely refer to as *Georgian*, actually began in the last years of the seventeenth century, as exemplified by the erection of the second City Hall in 1699 on the Wall Street site of the Old Custom House, now identified as Federal Hall Memorial. A rare old print tells us that this structure was far removed from Medieval precedent. Prior to its remodeling by L'Enfant in 1788, it was a well-balanced, H-shaped building with square-headed windows, round-arched portico and classic detailing in its cornice and other points of emphasis. Building on the tip of Manhattan progressed through the century, until the city of the time took on a Georgian aspect with its charming brick houses with elaborate cornices, fine Georgian doorways leading to richly-panelled interiors enhanced with excellent mantels and over-mantels and graciously ascending staircases. The furnishings tend to become richer. The local cabinetmakers supply Queen Anne and Chippendale (and eventually Sheraton and Hepplewhite) inspired furniture of great excellence. Fine silver grows in usage and conforms to worthy examples current in the Low Countries and in England. The rare Burgis View of 1716–1718 shows some of the earliest of these and Bennett's view of Broadway and Bowling Green, executed in 1826, records the still remaining later Georgian and Federal buildings which lent grace and dignity to that area. Among these is the fine Kennedy Mansion with its triple-doorway motif, Palladian

window and formal garden that descended to the waterside of the North River. Other notable residences in this spirit, fronting the Green, were the town houses of the Livingston, the Watts and the Stevens families. The classic cupola of Grace Church and the spire of the second Trinity Church lend charm and variation to the view. Fraunces Tavern, not far to the east, was built in 1719 as a residence for Etienne De Lancey, not becoming a celebrated tavern until 1762. King's College, designed by Crommellin in 1756 after its founding by royal charter in 1754, was one of the proud buildings of the city. It was designed in a soundly Georgian tradition comparing favorably with existing buildings at William and Mary, Harvard, Yale and Princeton. Although this building has long since disappeared, the King's Crown still surmounts our new buildings on Morningside Heights. The Archbishop of Canterbury may still be construed as an ex-officio trustee of the University, and the Chaplain of Columbia College still, somewhat with tongue in cheek, acknowledges him technically as his spiritual head.

We sometimes tend to forget that New York was the nation's first capital and that architectural preparation, of necessity, was made here for the housing and functioning of our Federal government. For example, the second City Hall was redesigned in 1789 by no less a person than Pierre L'Enfant (later to lay out the new city of Washington) to serve as the seat of the legislative bodies. The spacious Georgian residence known as Franklyn House on Cherry Street was hastily refitted as a temporary residence for President Washington. Although this was actually our nation's first White House, it, too, has gone the way of other important historical buildings in our city. Its site is occupied today by one of the piers of the Brooklyn Bridge. Fine though this house was, a nobler structure for the housing of the President of the United States was undertaken in 1790 at the south end of Bowling Green and identified as Government House. Designed by James Robinson, this was one of the finest buildings in the country at the time. It was enriched with a classic portico supported by splendid two-

story Ionic columns and crowned by a pediment somewhat in the spirit of the residence of the Lord Mayors of London. The seat of government was soon changed and this magnificent building was demolished in 1815.

The noblest building of the Georgian period to remain in New York, and indeed one of the finest within the confines of our country, is St. Paul's in Trinity Parish, which was designed in 1764 by Thomas McBean, the pupil of the noted English architect, James Gibbs. Its steeple and splendid two-story classic portico were added between 1793-96, doubtless by the notable Pierre L'Enfant. It is to our great credit that this notable building still remains to serve as an index to the Georgian achievements of our city. Its splendidly-fitted interior, with its unmatched set of Waterford crystal chandeliers, tells us of more than the state of ecclesiastical architecture at the time. It provides a clue to the standards and tastes of its parishioners and gives insight into the design standards expressed in other now lost and famous New York buildings such as St. John's Chapel.

Further north of the city, the uplands and shorelines of the Island provided delightful settings for the country seats of our gentry. Few of these remain, but one can still point with pride to the Roger Morris (Jumel) Mansion of 1765, with its original two-story portico (one of only six such two-story, eighteenth-century porticos remaining in the country); the Gracie Mansion, now the seat of our Mayor, and the residence at 421 East 61st Street, now serving as the headquarters of the Colonial Dames of America. The latter was originally a dependency of so lavish a country house (once occupied by Abigail Adams) that it was designated as "Smith's Folly" even before it was completed. Of the many Dutch farmhouses originally on the Island, only one remains—the old Dyckman Farmhouse of 1783. It is interesting to observe that, in spite of its date late in the century, a conservatism is invested in its design which makes it more expressive of the design principles prevalent in rural architecture at the beginning of the century. It should be noted in passing that all the furnishings in this

farmhouse came directly from the Dyckman and Morris families.

The *Federal* period, in general, introduces a lighter, more decorative element into our architecture which in some degrees pays homage to the mannered elegance of the group surrounding Robert and James Adam in England. Examples of this procedure on the Island are "The Grange" (1801–02), the only home ever owned by Alexander Hamilton and now in a state of greatest jeopardy. This was designed by John Macomb, one of our ablest architects of the period, who was likewise (with Mangin) the designer of our enchanting Old City Hall, which is one of the notable old buildings of New York and, indeed, of the nation. Happily, the Old City Hall has recently been restored so that its continuity, as an index to the standards of taste in Federal New York, seems assured for a long time to come.

The active phase of *Revivalism*, as relating to the scope of this paper, dates from 1820–60, although it should be remarked that Thomas Jefferson, as early as 1785, had thought in terms of a revival of classic forms in his design for the Virginia State Capitol, and Benjamin Latrobe had made his alternate Gothic design for the Baltimore Cathedral in 1805. About the same time, the father of our James Renwick made his Gothic design proposal (fig. 4) for Columbia College (original drawings preserved at Avery Library). Even before this, in 1751, the first steps had been taken simultaneously in Europe with Heré de Corny's Roman Triumphal Arch at Nancy for the exiled King Ladislav of Poland; and Horace Walpole in the same year conceived his Gothic mansion "Strawberry Hill." Revivalism in architecture was essentially a romantic rejection of the absolutist Renaissance approach. If nostalgia for a pure and distant (although not fully understood) past was inherent in the frame of mind which produced and accepted it, scholarly perception was by no means lacking.

The island of Manhattan has played a worthy role in the development and the projection of the Roman, the Greek and the Gothic Revivals. Some of their most notable achievements were erected here, and still enrich our city. As an example of the Roman



FIGURE 2. Original drawing for a Greek Revival town house designed by Martin Thompson in the 1830's. (From the Thompson Collection at Avery Library)

Revival, I would suggest the Old Assay Office designed in 1822 as the Branch Bank of the United States, by Martin Thompson. It was demolished in our own time but, happily, its charming façade was saved and re-erected in the court of the American wing



FIGURE 3. The original drawing by A. J. Davis for the old Custom House in New York showing the superb Rotunda. c. 1842. (From the Davis Collection in Avery Library)

at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Its designer was responsible for the erection of many of the attractive small private residences in lower Manhattan, original drawings for which are preserved in the collection of Avery Library (fig. 2).

The Old Custom House on Wall Street, designed by A. J. Davis and Ethiel Town *et al* in 1842 (now officially known as Federal Hall Memorial), is one of the finest Greek Revival buildings in America. Its splendid Doric portico exemplifies the lessons of monumentality and reserve which the architects of the Movement sought to recapture through their contacts (often indirectly) with the architecture of Ancient Greece. Now that its great Rotunda (fig. 3) has been cleared of its office impedimenta and is being restored to its original appearance, it emerges as one of the noblest rooms of its type and period in this country.

The Old Merchants' Exchange, now the National City Bank (with extensive additions to the original) on Wall Street, by Isaiah Rogers, was erected 1836-43. This is indeed a distinguished building of the time and, as Talbot Hamlin remarked, "Nowhere else in the country, with the exception of the Custom House in New York and Mill's Treasury Building in Washington, had such a monumental structure been so grandly conceived, so simply and directly planned and so beautifully detailed."

Colonnade Row, or Lafayette Terrace, just below Wannamaker's, is all that remains of the proudest Classic Revival row of marble residences in the city. For many years, Colonnade Row (designed by Ethiel Town and A. J. Davis, 1833-36) was regarded as the "number-one address" in New York. Its two-story marble columns, providing a continuous front to the houses (somewhat after the manner of Nash's "Rows" in London's Regent Park), gave access to interiors superbly enriched with the most delightful organization of polychromatic details on walls and ceilings, choice bas-relief ornamentation, and marble mantels as charmingly designed as any of the period in this country. Today, these dwellings have fallen from their high estate. One has to look beyond the soot and grime of many decades, past shop signs and other impairments, to reconstruct the full feeling of the dignity and monumentality of their conception. The Old Merchant's House (or Treadwell House) c.1830, at 8 East Fourth Street, still possessing its original furnishings, is a rarely authentic document of how a prosperous New York merchant housed his family in the days when our commerce was so satisfyingly expanding.

Washington Square at one time was one of the nation's finest and most homogeneous town plan units. Unhappily, its distinguished unity, as we all realize, has been seriously impaired. In New York, with high land values and related taxation, it is hard indeed to preserve for posterity the significant architecture of our past.

The Gothic Revival is still richly represented on the Island.



FIGURE 4. Original drawing (c 1805) by James Renwick the Elder, for a Gothic Revival building to house the Library of Columbia College. Had this been built, it would have been one of the earliest of our buildings in this style. (Compare with figure 5)

Although the examples are numerous, I would like to cite Trinity Church on Broadway at Wall Street, which was designed by Richard Upjohn and finished in 1846, as the first great Gothic Revival New York church. Designed essentially in the Perpendicular Gothic manner, it brought both delight and a nostalgic sense of kinship with the age of the Gothic cathedral builders of England and France. Compared with the tentative Gothic designs of the elder Renwick for Columbia College (fig. 4), its achievements seemed breathtaking in the eyes of contemporaries. Yet the

style was to progress with fulness and added splendor in James Renwick the Younger's designs for St. Patrick's Cathedral (fig. 5). With its broad vistas, soaring effects of vaulting and its rich ecclesiastical furnishings, it was a remarkable achievement for the times, and one which was to exert its impact throughout the towns and cities of our country. It is a great satisfaction to report that Avery Library has just received, through the kindness of Renwick descendants, the splendid series of drawings which James Renwick the Younger designed for St. Patrick's Cathedral, doubtless the greatest of his executed commissions. The dates of these accumulated drawings poignantly reveal that a monument of this sort (begun in 1858) might well encompass the full professional life span of an architect. Indeed, the Lady Chapel was finished by other hands, although careful studies had long been made for it by James Renwick the Younger.

Of the some ten thousand original architectural drawings preserved at Avery Library, I am loath to confess that we do not possess one original example for any seventeenth-century New York building, and only three for the eighteenth century. Our holdings for the island of Manhattan begin essentially with the nineteenth century and include some twelve hundred A. J. Davis items, approximately one thousand Upjohn drawings, over five hundred Detlef Lienau drawings, eleven Calvin Pollard drawings, twenty-five Martin Thompson drawings, three drawings by the senior Renwick and fifty-one by James Renwick, Jr., for the period under discussion. Not only have all of our seventeenth-century buildings disappeared, and most of those of the eighteenth century as well, but we have in all too many cases lost sight of the original drawings governing their construction.

Although lying outside the scope of this paper, I would like to refer somewhat indirectly to subsequent architecture for quite a different reason. From the middle of the nineteenth century to the present, the onrush of structural and architectural achievements is absorbing in technical interest and charged with cultural significance. The Bogardus contribution to fireproof construction,

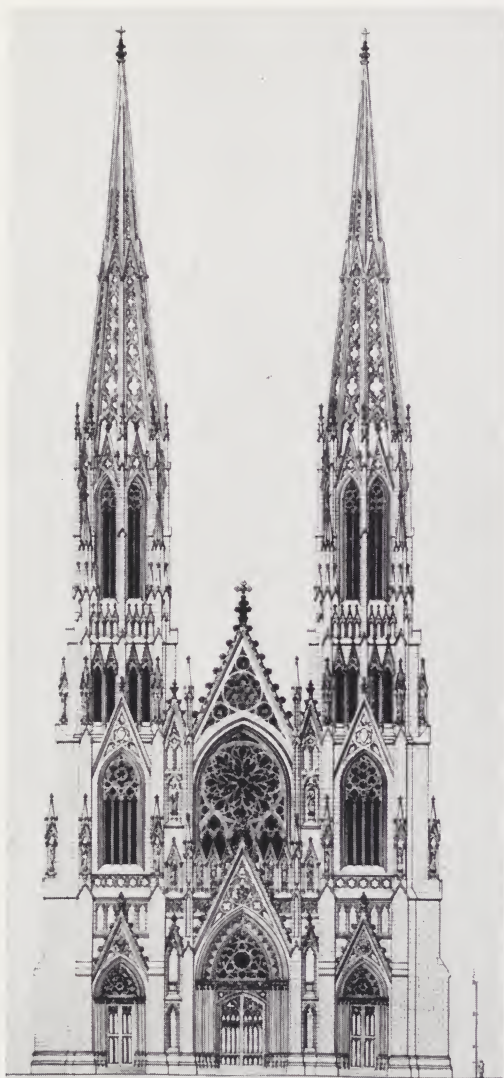


FIGURE 5. The original presentation drawing for the façade of St. Patrick's Cathedral by James Renwick the Younger. (From the Renwick Collection at Avery Library)

with the production of the pre-fabricated cast iron structural skeleton and façade, the utilization of the elevator, the steel frame, reinforced, and now pre-stressed, concrete, have all combined to produce the phenomenon of present-day New York.

Likewise, the esthetic and professional achievements of Detlef Lienau, Richard Morris Hunt, George Post, McKim, Mead and White, Carrère and Hastings, Warren and Wetmore, Cass Gilbert, John Russell Pope, Delano and Aldrich, to name but a few, contributed successively to the rise and subsequent development of what we might call the *epoque dorée* of our city, when we sought to emulate the splendor of great European capitals. The development of skyscrapers, railroad stations, theaters, great mercantile establishments, warehouses, hotels, apartment houses, slum clearance projects, shopping centers, subsidized apartments, bridges, tunnels and tubes, as designed by our great contemporaries, are a part of the saga of the city, a people and an ever-changing way of life and thought, charged alike with opportunity and grave responsibility.

It appears that New York has been singularly fruitful in projecting progressive architectural movements. Our judgment and energy has scarcely been similarly resourceful in preserving certain of those buildings which could provide a third-dimensional index to the continuity of life, thought and taste on this rocky mass of Manhattan Island. The very geological formation of our Island even forestalls our excavating to "recover the past," as may be done in many other great areas of the world. Isn't the challenge to create distinguished architectural works impaired, if their creators come to realize that their finest efforts are destined scarcely to live out their own span of years? Will not investor and architect lower their sights and finally tend to produce what, in a moment of clear honesty, we might refer to as "expendable" buildings, shorn of those qualities which identify the worthiest aspects of an Age?

Stephen Crane's Last Novel: *The O'Ruddy*

LILLIAN GILKES and JOAN H. BAUM

THE CATALOGUE of the recent Stephen Crane exhibition at Columbia University,¹ in dealing with *The O'Ruddy* (Crane's last novel, left unfinished at his death), suggests that this book was probably not completed by Robert Barr, whose name appears on the title-page as joint author, but by another writer. However, further evidence has been brought forth which makes it clear that Barr, after having given up the project some years before, eventually reconsidered and did after all finish the story. We hope hereby to correct the false impression given by the catalogue, and to present, in greater detail than was possible for the scope of the exhibition, the entire sequence of events leading to the completion of the novel.

The history of the adventures of *The O'Ruddy* after Crane's death is a long and complicated one, involving many of his literary friends, several of whom at one time or another tried a hand at the final chapters. But most closely it concerns Cora Crane, who hoped for rescue from her ever-increasing financial worries by the publication and sale of the book.

When Stephen Crane died in June, 1900, he left some twenty-four chapters of *The O'Ruddy*, plus a few sketchy notes (dictated to Cora) of further ideas for the novel. Robert Barr visited Crane as he lay dying at Dover, before the agonizing last journey to Badenweiler in the Black Forest. Stephen begged Barr to finish the tale, and so Barr promised. But he was not happy about it. On May 17, he wrote to Cora:² "It would be absurd of me to attempt

¹ *Stephen Crane (1871-1900). An exhibition of his writings . . .* New York, 1956.

² All excerpts are quoted from letters in the Columbia Crane Collection unless otherwise noted.

THE O'RUDDY

A ROMANCE



COPYRIGHT 1912 BY FREDERICK A. STORIN COMPANY

BY
Stephen Crane and Robert Barr

Courtesy of C. Waller Barrett

Reproduction in reduced size of a contemporary poster, advertising Crane's last novel.

to finish a novel of Stephen Crane's. Stephen has genius and style; I, unfortunately, have neither, and am merely a commonplace plugger. The contrast in the work would be too horrible, and I should be hopelessly handicapped with the knowledge of my own deficiencies. With pretty near any other man except Kipling and a few others, I would have the cheek to try, but with Stephen, the discrepancy would be too marked." And in a letter written to an unknown recipient on June 8, barely three days after Crane's death, he said: "I've got the unfinished manuscript of his last novel here beside me, a rollicking Irish tale . . . Stephen thought I was the only person who could finish it, and he was too ill for me to refuse. I don't know what to do about the matter, for I never could work up another man's ideas." (Quoted from the introduction to *Men, Women and Boats*, edited by Vincent Starrett, p. 18.)

As a result of Barr's unwillingness to complete *The O'Ruddy*, Cora began to look about for other possibilities. Moreton Frewen, from whom the Cranes had rented Brede Place, their English manor house, sent the manuscript to Rudyard Kipling in the hope of having him agree to supply an ending. But, on June 16, Frewen wrote to Cora: "I am very sorry to say I have a refusal from Kipling; a pleasant appreciative letter enough but he concludes 'my own opinion is & I hold it very strongly that a man's work is personal to him, & should remain as he made it or left it . . . this is not a thing that a man feeling as I do, can undertake.'" Frewen continued: "I had expected another answer, but there is nothing for it but to look elsewhere. I know you have got a most efficient substitute."

Was Frewen referring to Barr? Cora sent him Frewen's letter, and Barr replied (July 4, 1900): "I think Kipling is quite right in saying that no man should touch another man's work. I have read the story over from beginning to end once more, and have also gone over two or three times the sketch you gave me of the completion, but the latter is so vague and incomplete itself, that it gives little guidance for another to go upon." Barr now suggests

(and apparently had believed from the beginning) that Cora herself should finish the novel. "I think you are the only person in the world who can finish that story You know better than any one else can what he had in his mind regarding the conclusion, and when the story goes forth as by Stephen Crane and Mrs Crane, people will take that collaboration as the right and proper thing, while they will be certain to resent the intrusion of any other. If you will do that, I will go carefully over your work, and make whatever suggestions occur to me; also, if you like, I will take it down to Kipling . . . and will endeavour to get him to go over it as well."

But Cora did not think much of herself as a writer; her low opinion of her own few ventures into the literary realm was perhaps affected by Stephen's ridicule of female authors. In any case, rather than attempt the final chapters herself, Cora sent copies of the unfinished manuscript to several of Stephen's friends. A copy went to Henry Brereton Marriott-Watson, a novelist and occasional visitor at Brede Place. On August 13, Marriott-Watson wrote: "Your letter and the tale arrived today, and I will at once start upon the latter Yet I have great misgivings as to whether admiration for any man's work is, by itself, evidence of an ability to complete it. I distrust my capacity to synchronize adequately with any other mind; and thus to properly carry out what you desire." Also, he was busy with his own affairs. "However . . . I am setting to work . . . on the tale, and will let you know, as soon as I have finished, if it would be practicable for me to undertake so solemn and responsible a task."

A few days later, Cora received another letter from Marriott-Watson: "I sat up a good part of Monday night reading the m.s. and read in all about 35,000 words. At the end, although I greatly admired the ability and ingenuity as well as the fine action of the tale, I did not quite see myself as a finisher. It is an admirable example of the picaresque novel, but I fear it will be difficult to get any one adequate to complete it I would have suggested Mr. Barr as being more fitted to do so than any one I know, and I did

see his name mentioned somewhere in this connection In any case I am sure that you could easily find someone more suitable than myself."

Marriott-Watson must have sent the manuscript back to Cora at this point, but she, unable to find any one else willing to undertake the job and desperate in her desire to see the story finished, apparently returned it to him with another plea to attempt a finish. On August 18 Marriott-Watson wrote: "I received the ms of *The O'Ruddy* back from you. I have, therefore taken the opportunity of finishing the tale I regret that my feeling as regards . . . the ending of it, still remains the same. I am even the more strengthened in my belief in my unsuitability. But I hope that you will find someone who is not . . . afraid to attack so bold a task. I am returning the m.s. to you"

Cora had plans for a dramatized version of the story, and so she sent the manuscript to David Belasco, king of American producers and himself a playwright. Belasco was immediately interested in the tale, and planned to begin work upon the script at once. On September 5 he wrote: "I have received the manuscript of '*The O'Ruddy*' I was highly pleased with the opening chapter. It started splendidly and my enthusiasm to undertake the work is stronger than ever As soon as I have progressed sufficiently in the work of making a play out of the book, I shall send you some further word." But Belasco's plans were delayed because of uncertainty over the publication date of the novel. After nearly six months had passed he was less enthusiastic. "One thing is very certain—I can make no arrangements until the book is published." He refused to proceed with the play until the novel had appeared in print, and so the entire project fell through.

The failure of the Belasco negotiations was a hard blow. By this time Cora's financial affairs had reached a critical stage, with creditors pressing and all income from American sources impounded in Crane's estate. A letter from Barr (September 22, 1900) seems to indicate that he had finally and completely backed out of any responsibility for completion of *The O'Ruddy*: "Stokes

& Co. are quite wrong in their surmise" that Barr would finish the novel. "I couldn't finish the story because I have not the brains. I fully intended to do it—but—I wanted to do it anonymously Nevertheless, as I read the story, I saw I would make a hash of it, & my attempt at a chapter proved I could not do it. I told Stokes so. I hear Mason is to finish the book. I hope this is true. There could not be a better man. Still it is a task in which any one will fail. No one could finish the book but Stephen."

"Mason" is A. E. W. Mason, a popular novelist, who had visited Brede Place during a Christmas house-party in 1899, and had collaborated with Stephen, Cora and some of the other guests in composing a play—*The Ghost*. They amused themselves by performing it for the local residents. Cora now turned to him, and sent Mason a copy of the manuscript in August. He wrote: "I have got the O'Ruddy m.s. and will read it at once. I thought at the beginning of suggesting to you that if you had no other views I might finish the story. But I saw that Barr was going to do it, and so did not. I could have done it right away then, and handed it over to you a month ago." But now he was not free; prior commitments called. However, "I can start the O'Ruddy in November I suppose you have some ideas as to how it was to end I don't think, if I finish the O'Ruddy, that it would take very long. Meanwhile in the interests of the book, I fancy it would not be wise to let it get known that Barr, having splashed about finishing the book, is not doing it I will read the story through and let you know immediately & definitely."

Mason decided in the affirmative and after some delay began work on *The O'Ruddy*. But all did not go smoothly; despite his acid remark about Barr, he too had a hard time with the tale. In March, 1901, he told Cora that he was "troubled with the O'Ruddy. I have not yet got hold of Forster's exact position in the story & the hold he has got in the shipping business. You see there is a good deal of the plot to be made up, & one wants to get it in accordance with what is done. However, as soon as I can get my mind clear about Forster, I will be quick in finishing it." And

in a post-script: "I should just let the story go out as Stephen's I think if I were you. It does not help a book for the public to see lots of names A short note saying that the latter part has been completed by another hand will meet the case I fancy."

In the midst of all these difficulties, and almost at the very moment that Mason was proposing complete anonymity for his part of *The O'Ruddy*, Frederick Stokes, the publisher, issued advance press notices, and an article appeared in *The Critic* for March, 1901, naming Mason as the one who would finish the novel. Mason wrote a furious letter to Cora; he did not approve of advance publicity and he did not enjoy the pressure from Stokes. Publishers might be impatient, but Mason would not hurry! "My wish was to do what I possibly could for Stephen Crane's memory, which is more important than whether a few newspaper paragraphs preceded or not the publication of the O'Ruddy. And as I do not profess to be other than a slow worker in my own case, I did not purpose to be anything else in Stephen's. The fact that the publishers press for copy is not the important thing. The important thing is that the book should be done as well as possible I really do not think that you quite realize what a difficult task it is although from Mr Barr's not in the end undertaking it, I should think it easy to realize You will know as well as I do that up till the present point in the book, we are in the dark. We have got to guess & make a new story of which we have barely a hint . . . it is no use bustling me." Had Mason known how serious Cora's financial difficulties were, he would have "suggested to you at once that someone quicker than myself should take the work in hand. I am still quite willing to agree to that if you like."

These problems apparently were resolved, however, and Mason settled down to complete the story. A month later (April 30, 1901), he informed Cora that "I shall have the O'Ruddy finished very soon now." But he must have been a very slow worker indeed, for one year later the book still was not finished, and Stokes had completely lost patience. On April 29, 1902, the publisher wrote Cora: ". . . we have not yet received the completion of

'The O'Ruddy' from Mr. Mason; but, as intimated in one of our former letters, we find it necessary to take this matter into our own hands, and shall attend to the completion of the story in the best manner possible in the circumstances."

And so the matter stood, at a standstill, until the end of the year. At that time, two years after he had finally turned the manuscript back to Cora, Robert Barr once more consented to finish the story. Two letters to Cora from Alfred Plant, Crane's English executor—previously overlooked—indicate that the final chapters are after all Barr's work. On December 31, 1902, Plant wrote: "I am in receipt of your letter . . . instructing me to accept Mr Robert Barr's offer to complete the O'Ruddy . . . I do hope the book will now be completed without further delay." It would seem that Barr had finished the story by July 17, 1903, for on that day Plant wrote to Cora: "I am sorry to say that Mr Robert Barr now declines to hand over the completed manuscript of 'The O'Ruddy' unless he is paid a sum of £220 . . . he knows perfectly well we have no money and the arrangement I made with him was that he should have the serial rights for publication in "the Idler" as payment for his work upon the book. I intend to do my utmost to force him to carry out his Agreement . . ."

Plant must have succeeded; *The O'Ruddy* was finally published in October, 1903.



WILLARD V. KING (CC '89)

A member of the Friends of the Columbia Libraries whose bequest of approximately \$65,000 for the establishment of the John Erskine Fund for the Library was announced on January 16. Mr. King, who graduated from Columbia College in 1889, was President of the Columbia Trust Company from 1908 to 1923, a Trustee of the University from 1909 to 1954, and Trustee Emeritus from 1954 until his death in the following year. He organized the Columbia University Alumni Fund.

The portrait above was made while he was President of the Trust Company.

Our Growing Collections

ROLAND BAUGHMAN

DURING the past three months, as all members of the Friends know, one of the principal efforts of the Libraries has been toward acquiring the John Jay Papers —perhaps the most important group of manuscripts representing the formative period in the history of our country that Columbia will ever have the opportunity to obtain. As matters now stand, about one third of the amount needed for the purchase of these papers has been given or subscribed by individuals who have felt that they could support the project in a tangible way. In addition, money from various endowed funds of the Libraries has been allocated to the purpose, when this could be done with propriety. As a result the Trustees of the University have authorized us to proceed with firm negotiations for the papers, and this is being done.

This interim report to the Friends of the Columbia Libraries is being made to inform our benefactors of the status of the project, and to emphasize the fact that, although we are more than half-way to our goal, we still are in need of substantial assistance. Anyone who would like to contribute to the project should, as soon as convenient, communicate with Roland Baughman, Head of Special Collections, Columbia University Libraries, New York 27 (telephone University 5-4000, extension 371).

Berton gift. Peter Berton (Ph.D. 1956) has given the East Asiatic Library 121 Japanese exhibit and auction catalogues which he collected on his numerous trips to Japan as a Ford Foundation grantee. The catalogues, handsomely prepared and heavily illustrated with colored as well as black-and-white plates, provide information about private collections which cannot elsewhere be found in published form.

Early Typographic Equipment. One year ago we reported that the Journal Press of Ballston Spa, New York, through the courtesy of Mr. C. H. Grose, had presented a valuable collection of early composing sticks. Mr. Grose has recently added another very interesting piece of historical printing-shop equipment, a steel "shooting stick," by means of which wooden quoins were tightened against the forms of type before metal quoins and keys came into use.

Erskine Papers. Mrs. Helen Worden Erskine, widow of the late John Erskine (A.B. 1900, A.M. 1901, Ph.D. 1903), has presented the papers, manuscripts, published works, and memorabilia of her illustrious husband. The formal presentation was made at the annual meeting of the Friends of the Columbia Libraries on the evening of January 16, in the Rotunda of Low Memorial Library. The papers constitute a fitting tribute to one of Columbia's most famous sons, and represent a valuable asset to scholarship and a lasting inspiration to coming generations of students.

The Federated Press Papers. Through the generosity of Mr. Carl Haessler, Managing Editor, and Miss Alice Citron, the accumulated files of the Federated Press, comprising the equivalent of nearly 100 correspondence file drawers, were presented on November 7, 1956. Between the two World Wars the Federated Press, among the oldest of such services in existence, furnished specialized news releases for labor newspapers. The files consist of copies of all mimeographed releases of news and feature stories, a morgue, cuts of persons and scenes, and such correspondence as survives. In the opinion of Professor Sigmund Diamond of Columbia's Sociology Department, the collection is "invaluable for students of the history of the American labor movement" since the first World War.

Frick gift. Avery Library has received the four concluding volumes of the catalogue prepared by Miss Helen Frick of her

father's distinguished collection of art objects. Only two copies of this ten-volume work are available to readers in the New York area outside the Frick Library and the Frick Museum.

Friedman gift. Mr. Harry G. Friedman (Ph.D. 1908) has added ten items to his past benefactions. Seven of these have to do with early Columbia history. Two others are German works, bound together and dated 1828, which describe (with detailed plates) the suspension bridge over the Thames at Hammersmith and the tunnel under the Thames connecting Wapping and Rotherhithe.

Gottscho-Schleisner gifts. Samuel H. Gottscho and William H. Schleisner have continued to add to the Gottscho-Schleisner Corpus of Architectural Photographs at Avery Library. The most recent addition comprised some three thousand photographic negatives representing two hundred and twenty-four architectural projects in and about New York.

Graham gift. Miss Margaret A. Graham presented a group of very useful items. Two are printed works issued by Elzevir at Leyden (Curtius Rufus' *Historiarum*, 1633, and John Barclay's *Satyricon*, 1658). There is also a 17th-century manuscript containing religious and moral precepts, and an interesting Turkish manuscript by one Yazijioghlu Mehmed (d. 1451). The latter manuscript, a copy made during the 18th century for presentation to the Mosque of St. Sophia at Istanbul, contains a long didactic poem concerning the doctrines and traditions of Islam based on the Koran and Hadith.

Hu Shih gift. Dr. Hu Shih presented a manuscript copy of a work which was written in about 884 by the T'ang author Kao Yen-shin, but which remains unpublished to this day. The *Ch'ieh shih*, as it is entitled, contains imaginary tales that had passed down through the ages to Kao's time. The copy was written in about 1700 by Wang Chih-po. Evidence of its value as a collector's item

for the past 250 years is seen in the numerous seals of well-known scholar-collectors stamped on the first pages of the volume.

Kahn and Jacobs gifts. Mr. Robert Allan Jacobs (B.A., School of Architecture, 1934), of the architectural firm of Kahn and Jacobs, has generously presented one hundred and sixteen architectural books to Avery Library. Mr. Ely Jacques Kahn (A.B. 1903, B.Arch. 1912) of the same firm presented one hundred and six architectural books to Avery Library at the same time.

Kernochan gift. Professor John M. Kernochan of the Law School has presented the personal library of his father, the late Marshall R. Kernochan. The collection numbers some 2700 books, and includes nearly 500 phonograph records of classical and semi-classical nature. Among the books are at least seventy which are destined for inclusion in Special Collections, including the seventh edition (1632) of John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (the "Book of Martyrs") and the famous "Academy Edition" of *Don Quixote*, published in four beautiful volumes by Ibarra in Madrid in 1780.

Johnson gift. The Engineering Library has received seventy-five manufacturers' catalogues describing steam boiler equipment dated in the 1880's and 1890's. These catalogues were sent by Mrs. Bertha Johnson of Troy, Pennsylvania. Many of them contain detailed technical information describing early steam boilers and steam prime movers used in early electrical generating plants. A number can be identified as having been prepared especially for the Columbian World's Fair in Chicago in 1893. The collection is being added to the extensive Engineering Catalogue Library in the Egleston Engineering Library.

Leach gift. Dr. Henry Goddard Leach has presented an extensive and largely unpublished manuscript by the late Miss Grace Faulkner Ward. The work is a detailed study of rural administra-

tion in England during the eleventh century, contained in eight volumes of typescript.

Meloney gift. Mr. William Brown Meloney (A.B. 1927) has presented a magnificent group of nearly 200 letters, cards, telegrams, and related pieces, which passed between his mother, the late Marie Mattingly Meloney, and Madame Curie. The correspondence began in 1920 and continued until Madame Curie's death in 1934, and it deals with personal and biographical matters as well as those pertaining directly to science.

Nevins gift. Professor Allan Nevins has presented a series of manuscripts containing miscellaneous political writings of Abram S. Hewitt (1822-1903). The papers date from 1876 to 1901, and most of them are in Hewitt's autograph.

Putnam Papers. Mrs. Palmer Putnam has presented a useful group of scrapbooks and files containing business correspondence to and from George Haven Putnam of the publishing firm of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Timme gift. Mrs. Walter Timme presented to the Medical Library the private collection formed by her late husband, Dr. Walter Timme (M.D. 1897). The collection, consisting of nearly 2500 volumes and 2000 issues of journals, is of primary importance for its content in the fields of Dr. Timme's specialty, neurology and endocrinology. There are, however, substantial holdings in other branches of medicine, as well as in history, biography, art, music, and letters, and a select collection of works on the Women's Rights movement.

Activities of the Friends

Annual Meeting. The Annual Meeting of the Friends of the Columbia Libraries was held in the Rotunda of Low Memorial Library on the evening of January 16, with August Heckscher, Chairman of our association, presiding.

During the short business session with which the meeting opened, Mr. Heckscher said that the terms on the Council of Mrs. Albert M. Baer, Mrs. Donald F. Hyde, Mr. Valerien Lada-Mocarski, and himself expired at that meeting. He called upon Dr. Richard H. Logsdon, a member of the Nominating Committee, who reported that the Committee wished to nominate the same four members for re-election to the Council for the regular three-year period. Upon motion and second from the floor, they were unanimously elected to serve until January, 1960.

Columbia Library Columns receives an award. Mr. Heckscher said that word had just been received from Mr. Melvin Loos, Manager of the Printing Office of the Columbia University Press, that the November issue of *Columbia Library Columns* had been selected for an award of merit by the jury for the 15th Exhibition of Printing of the New York Employing Printers Association, which opened in New York on January 14. The jury chose the specimen on the basis of its design and its general high quality of typography, presswork, and binding. The audience expressed its pleasure with applause.

Presentation of John Erskine's papers. Dr. Logsdon, the Director of Libraries, introduced Mrs. Helen Worden Erskine, widow of Professor John Erskine, who presented to the University her husband's papers and manuscripts. Included are over two thousand letters and published and unpublished manuscripts which were written between his boyhood and the culmination of his teaching and literary careers. Vice-President Krout, who accepted

the collection on behalf of the University, referred to Professor Erskine's high ability as a teacher. He mentioned his having established here a Great Books Colloquium which developed into the Contemporary Civilization program now in use in Columbia College, and which the University of Chicago adopted and expanded into its Great Books program.

The two principal speakers of the evening were Melville Cane, the poet-lawyer who was a Columbia College classmate, and Henry Morton Robinson, biographer, novelist, and former student of Professor Erskine's. They spoke of his widely diversified talents as a teacher, poet, composer, performing musician as soloist with symphony orchestras, novelist (his satirical *Private Life of Helen of Troy* was on the list of best sellers), and as an administrator (he was the first President of the Julliard School of Music and earlier was Director of the A.E.F. University at Beaune during World War I).

Mr. C. Waller Barrett becomes the new Chairman. Mr. Heckscher said that his term as Chairman and Mrs. Hyde's as Vice-Chairman came to an end at that meeting and that, whereas members are elected to the Council by the membership at large, the persons who are to fill these two offices are elected by the Council. At the last Council meeting Mrs. Hyde was elected Vice-Chairman to succeed herself and Mr. Barrett Chairman, both for the regular two-year terms. He introduced the new Chairman, who spoke appreciatively of Mr. Heckscher's services to our association and who then closed the meeting.

During the social hour which followed, the members and their guests had an opportunity to inspect some of the Erskine letters, manuscripts, and memorabilia which had been placed on display in the Rotunda exhibit cases.

THE FRIENDS OF THE COLUMBIA LIBRARIES

PRIVILEGES

INVITATIONS to exhibitions, lectures and other special events.

USE OF BOOKS in the reading rooms of the libraries.

OPPORTUNITY TO CONSULT LIBRARIANS, including those in charge of the specialized collections, about material of interest to a member. (Each Division Head has our members' names on file.)

OPPORTUNITY TO PURCHASE most Columbia University Press books at 20 per cent discount (through the Secretary-Treasurer of the Friends).

FREE SUBSCRIPTION TO COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS.

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CLASSES OF MEMBERSHIP

ANNUAL. Any person contributing not less than \$10.00 per year (dues may be waived for officers of the University).

CONTRIBUTING. Any person contributing not less than \$25.00 a year.

SUSTAINING. Any person contributing not less than \$50.00 a year.

BENEFACTOR. Any person contributing not less than \$100.00 and up a year.

Checks should be made payable to Columbia University. All donations are deductible for income tax purposes.

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Room 317, Butler Library, Columbia University, New York 27, N. Y.

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